

563 Japanese lost their lives in the attempt to subdue a revolt staged by the aborigines. After 1936 the Japanese colonial government tried to assimilate the aborigines: (a) by removing them from their remote mountain homes to small plots of land on the plains where they could be more easily watched and where they might settle down as farmers; (b) by establishing schools within the aborigines' territory. A four-year primary school and some vocational courses were set up for them by the Japanese. This accounts for the fact that a small percentage²³ of the aborigines can speak the Japanese language.

563 After the restoration of the island to
667 China, the aborigines are no longer called "savages". They are referred to as "mountain tribesmen" and addressed as "mountain brethren." The administration of the mountain areas has been transferred from the Police Department to the Civil Affairs Department of the Provincial Government. The areas are divided into 30 hsiang (groups of villages) and 192 ts'un (villages).²⁴ The chiefs

23. About 30 per cent. "In the east coast town like Hualien, the bus conductresses make their announcements in Japanese, so that even the aborigines will know where to get down." Manchester Guardian, op. cit., p. 12.

24. T'ai-wan T' Shan-ti Hsing-cheng [Administration of Mountain Areas], published by the Information Department of Taiwan Provincial Government, Taipei, 1952, p. 15.

4:Grajdanzev--140 [31 S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans

116. 652. 657. 177.65

Japan

636.65

"Expenditures on the health and education of the population occupy a rather modest place in the budget of the government-general, and their part in total expenditures is falling, as the following figures show: (percentages of total expenditures)

	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Education ^a	6.8	6.9	6.3	4.5	3.8
Health	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0

a) Expenditures on the University are not included here as before 1938 they were not included in the general budget, and we have no data on them.

However, it should be pointed out that the bulk of these expenditures passes through local budgets--14,144,000 yen on education and 5,193,000 on health in 1939. "

31: Hofmann--603 N-3

(1909) 1912

Formosans

116, 366, 543, 657, 177.65

Japanese

636.65

During my stay of one week in the capital and the neighboring regions, I was greatly impressed by the energy with which the Japanese had stimulated the culture of Taihoku. There were extensive government buildings, broad streets, water pipes, schools, barracks, hospitals, reformatories, railroads, telegraph and telephone connections; everything, in short, that is considered representative of western culture. Everywhere there are signs of Japanese patience, energy, and initiative which form a striking contrast to the confusion and negligence of the Chinese regime. There is a museum in Taihoku which is well worth seeing, with an extensive collection of the abundant fauna and flora of this island; it is because of the copious vegetation that Formosa for so many centuries has been the cynosure of all those nations who sought to expand their boundaries. There is also a botanical garden where a large number of useful and interesting plants has been systematically arranged and it is calculated to impress any visitor to the tropics. There is one hotel in Taihoku which, judged even by European standards, is excellent; it offers all the comforts of a tropical hotel.

563 of the rural districts are all elected by the abo-
657 riginers themselves. They are represented in the
Provincial Assembly by three members, two
elected by the tribesmen living in mountain areas
and one by those living on the plains. One tribes-
man, Hua Ch'ing-chi, serves as a Commissioner
in the Provincial Council. In the 144 elementary
schools provided for the aborigines, 17,734
children and 6,032 adults were enrolled in the
second semester of 1951.²⁵ It is said that 71.56
per cent of school age children are receiving edu-
cation.²⁶ With the assistance of the Sino-American
Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, the
Nationalist Government is also improving the live-
lihood and economy of the tribesmen. The number
of health stations has been increased. A total of
30 health stations and 120 substations have been
set up since November 1949. Efforts have been
made to improve the quality of the cattle and to
increase the number of hogs in the aboriginal areas.
A selected number of aboriginal girls are to be
trained in sewing and sericulture.²⁷ The guarding
of the mountain areas has been relaxed. In fact,

25. Ibid., p. 22.

26. Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien
[Yearbook of the Republic of China], 1954, p. 818.

27. General Report of J.C.R.R., Vol. IV,
1954, p. 186.

563 many tribesmen are found patrolling the streets
in Taipei as members of the local police force.
657 No noticeable friction has ever been reported
• between the aborigines and other groups. For this
the Nationalist government should be given credit.
The aborigines are at long last recognized as a
part of the community, and some headway has
been made to bring about their economic better-
ment. It is quite natural that they are satisfied
with Nationalist rule.

CHAPTER VI

Public Health and the Risks of Death

In the preceding pages, we have given attention to various features of intercourse between Taiwanese and Japanese in Taiwan. Most of the evidence has been in agreement on one point—the policies of Japanese as rulers of the island failed to make any substantial difference in the social structure of its people. The more it seemed to change in some particular, the more it turned out to be essentially the same thing. As a matter of official design many innovations were concentrated in the hands of a favored few. Even when it came to implementing their aims, Japanese found ways to meet the population on its own terms. Much of their success in colonial administration was due to the ability to make the social system serve their purposes without changing its form.

The most significant exception was their effort on behalf of the health of the inhabitants. Japanese have never received full credit for their achievement in this realm, either on the part of the Taiwanese (who resented the intrusions that it involved in their lives) or from Western students of population and public health (who mostly ignored or belittled it). The "benefits" of rationalizing Taiwanese agriculture may be a matter of dispute, for it enormously enriched a few Japanese at the same time that it broadened standards of consumption in the population. The motives of Japanese in introducing to Taiwan some of the advantages of scientific discovery from the outside world may likewise be suspect, for they managed to keep control over most of the fruits of improvement. But there is no doubt that in the field of public health Japanese rule added many years to the expected lifetime of Taiwanese. This, in an environment of opinion that looks with approval upon any postponement of death, deserves to be given adequate attention.

Early Health Conditions in Taiwan

Prior to 1895, Taiwan was renowned as an unhealthful place to live. It presented special hazards to survival in addition to those which its people had learned to accept in South China. Unusual efforts had been called forth in expanding settlement into the relatively empty area, and these entailed unusual risks of death. Early Chinese migrants to Taiwan had to attend to clearing new lands,

PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE RISKS OF DEATH

The Japanese and Public Health

165 The Japanese military forces that first set out to subdue Taiwan met no firmly organized resistance among the people, but were nearly overcome by sickness in their own ranks before taking possession of the island. Out of an undisclosed total number of troops taking part in the campaign, the Japanese acknowledged only 154 combat fatalities, but over 4,000 died of disease within the first several months, and 27,000 had to be hospitalized (most of them in Japan).^{*} Epidemic illness did not, like poverty, stay confined to the Taiwanese population and leave the new rulers unmolested. Mosquitoes that carried malaria, for example, did not observe this distinction. The Japanese liking for raw fish was said to make them even more vulnerable than Taiwanese to the parasites that infested the food. Among the garrison alone, annual deaths of more than 40 per thousand were reported during the first decade of occupation, probably a higher figure than in the adult population of Taiwanese. In order to make this region of the world safe for imperialism, the Japanese found that they had to take drastic measures to curb the spread of disease.

• 657
744 They started almost at once to devise ways of counteracting the most serious sources. The steps that they adopted are instructive, for the result was a marked success with only a modest outlay. The campaign against sickness was launched when scientific knowledge as to the nature of these diseases was by present standards still rudimentary. Its weapons were crude and sometimes misguided. Moreover, there were many other goals of administration that competed with public health for attention. The authorities were never in a position to divert large blocs of funds to make their program elaborate or magnificent. It lacked the grandeur of projects sometimes contemplated by those who draw up plans for "backward" areas today. The whole approach of the Japanese to the problem of disease in Taiwan was an austere one. They avoided every possible expense in equipment and physical facilities, and depended on intensive use of all the administrative resources at their command.

744 In slightly over a decade the authorities almost eradicated plague as a major disease, through strict vigilance for suspected cases of infection, rigorous quarantine regulations, and careful inspection of incoming ocean cargoes for infected rats.^{*} Cholera was similarly pre-

* Davidson, James W. (1903), p. 354.

* Naito, Hideo (1937), p. 84 ff.

647 ment employees was reduced to 81,006, while the percentage of indigenous citizens in government service had risen to 65.46. A more significant change, perhaps, is in the increase of indigenous personnel in positions of responsibility. Among the first-class officials, local personnel has increased from 0.92 per cent under the Japanese to 17.45 per cent under the Nationalists. During the similar period, the second-class officials of indigenous origin rose from 1.29 per cent to 25.02 per cent.

563 Of 113,900 aborigines in Taiwan, 91,070 of them live in the central mountainous region. Since 1946 they have been exempted from tax payments. Redistricted into a number of villages and subvillages, they have been developing local self-government through village assemblies. There are at present 159 free primary schools among them, educating some 20,000 of their children. In addition, 924 graduates have been awarded government scholarships to enter secondary schools. Among them are also 140 public health clinics serviced by 321 medical people.¹⁸

FINANCE

652 The people of Taiwan suffered much when their currency was linked with that of mainland China. From one Taiwan dollar for thirty Chinese dollars (*fapi*) in 1946, the rate climbed to TS\$1,835 for one Chinese "Gold Yuan" in August 1948.¹⁹ By the time the Gold Yuan collapsed several months later, there was little purchasing power left in the Taiwan dollar worth salvaging. A fresh start was made in June 1949 when the

net figures on which this analysis is based, see *Taiwan Today*, cited note 11 *supra*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁸ For figures in this paragraph, see *Taiwan Reconstruction*, cited note 12 *supra*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ For a general description of Taiwan provincial finance, see *Taiwan Reconstruction*, pp. 33-77; also cf. *Taiwan Today*, cited note 11 *supra*, pp. 44-76.

[F. 216 (B)]